Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

114 121 772 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 181 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

772
181 A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (≈ child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

Iku is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 772 Many of the relationships between older and younger brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 616 The opposition between culture and nature does not affect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

772 occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

772 The Bororo express the difference between culture and
775 nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the
776 souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the
[92] first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In
[128] the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

772 The first true village (bororo) was arigao
773 bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared
539 it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.

The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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1 "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo reme. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 361 82 [101] [562] [775] The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It [772] [222] [229] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the [551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] [531] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tubureduqodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Ciebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was ariɡeo bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. *The first "human" village* was Ecicra Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

772 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
775 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
776 a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
[307] like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
533 of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
614 But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
361 Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

772
561 **Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture**

The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

844
787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ike: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivaguduoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

763 personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is
[819] total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the
78 other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored
[553] feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing
[833] and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and with-
[609] out enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a
[772] cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

769 But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are de-
[825] pendent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

769 825 Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kuruguguwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that [264] we eat. Thus we are eating each other.

772 Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and
[593] younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture meto tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai meto pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kuruguguwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi. tugiyaregedu tuje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

/352 cont./
B 772 811 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in B [186] the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in B [171] all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó BO [827] maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their B neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them [186] to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with BO strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that 772 they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, 811 /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the [775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a 772 habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead 811 are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and [171] similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/493 cont./

533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song, opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all [156] its strangeness. The barí, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the undertaking. [172] We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's [115] chorus. I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe bɔtoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake sukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "parîko" (feather

/511 cont./

975 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are 975 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned 992 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent 825 exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists, or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, [262] they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

975 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes 825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color, [186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in [974] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[761] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

/513 cont./

792 775 825 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigration of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg, Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one

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821 thing, however, perfect agreement prevailed, and this was most amazing to me. The ordinary stars not included in particular constellations, scattered over the sky as small and large dots, which one also sees streaking across the firmament as shooting stars, were all sand fleas; the Milky Way where they are most closely crowded together was ashes, and Venus the "large sand-flea."

[792] As among the Bakaïrí, the underlying interpretation is that the heavenly animals get up there by magic and differ in their appearance from terrestrial creatures; for as soon as some particular phenomenon appears, the bari is ready with an explanation. The large colorful water-snake which we call "rainbow" is a bari. A splendid meteor that fell during our stay was the "soul of a bari" which suddenly appeared in order to inform the Bororó that he wanted to have "jaguar meat" and that he would send one of them dysentery. The scene in which they tried to ward off the disaster merits a detailed description. Cf. Plate 30 /see p. 645/.

The meteor flared up in the south on 14 April at 8:26 in the evening as a ball about a quarter of the size of the moon; there was a bright glow over the entire area. It fell very rapidly in 45° towards the west and left a streak approximately the width of four heavenly fleas of the first magnitude and was divided into two parts like a staff, the free end gleaming like a star, the area toward the ball a brilliant blue. For another four minutes I seemed to see the streak, which was fading more and more, as a bright whitish mist.

821 789 At the same moment that the meteor became visible a shrill, prolonged cry of a hundred voices resounded from the Indian plaza. From all sides they rushed to the ranchão, where for a while there was a commotion inside and out as in a stirred-up ant hill. Then they turned to the part of the plaza facing the riverbank, started a few campfires, and soon numerous small, fantastically illuminated groups of men, women, and children were sitting along the huts. I had gone off to one side for a few minutes and was called back by a loud uproar. Two baris painted bright red with urucú stood in the midst of the company and, in